Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramã -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

• 263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single [123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

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[175]

/84 cont./
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

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410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/209/

273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. [764] It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

591 182 596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

• 263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speaking. [824] They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waĩka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waĩkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waĩkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.